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responsibility. Such words would be funny if they were not so serious; all the more serious because they come from men sparring for party advantage and playing with the prejudices of races and factions. For this all means that we shall abjure democracy and refuse to act it out. We gave, forsooth, we gave our boys for revenge, to punish Germany, to ward off fear from our coasts, not to clarify and cleanse human life; we sent those 2,000,000 young fellows across the sea that we might be safe to lead an irresponsible existence, sharking for our own booty, heedless, content, autocratic, because uncompanionable, superior, inaccessible, self-willed, forgetting that democracy implies responsibility, faith, education, solidarity, adjustment, communication, companionship, co-operation, publicity, morality based on self-compulsion.

"Some things even the blind should see. You cannot act one thing and be another. If you would be democratic, act the democrat. In the world of international affairs maintain your faith, take courage from your belief in the hearts of men, rely on enlightened public opinion and strive to enlighten it and your own mind, trust to the weapons of publicity as the foe of stealth and intrigue and hidden malice. Cherish companionship, recognize life as a series of readjustments and accommodations, shoulder responsibilities, cast out mean fear, even though it be called danger to the Monroe Doctrine, practice friendliness, and be high-hearted, even as our boys were."

#### SCAFFOLDING

By Alfred E. Randell, in "The Public"

Planks and boards, and littered rafters,  
Crudeley joined in height;  
Scattered stone, and slate, and plaster,  
In chaotic plight.

Yet within that chaos—Beauty,  
Chaste, enduring, true;  
Symbol of man's joyous duty,  
Daily thus, to woo  
From the chaos of the present  
Temples fit for God—  
Temples where both King and Peasant  
Serve, and pray, and laud.

President, and Kings and Nobles,  
Scribes and Diplomats,  
Representatives of Nations,  
Full-fledged Democrats,  
Titles, Rules, and Age-long Customs,  
Strictly censored Press,  
Long debates and hot discussions  
Victory's Distress—

Scaffolding the growing glory,  
Dream of all the years;  
Fashioned out of human suffering,  
Bought by blood and tears;  
Built in spite of hatred, dark'ning  
Mind of man with fears;  
Radiant in its beauty, answ'r'ing  
Vision of the Seers;  
Monument of man's own building,  
Triumph of the years.

Hail, thou League of all the Nations,  
Prove thine untold worth,  
Bring our war-sick world Salvation—  
Peace, Good-will on Earth.

## THE CONFERENCE DAY BY DAY

### Formal Acts of Council and Commissions

Feb. 27.—A meeting of the ministers and representatives of the allied and associated powers was held at the Quai d'Orsay. M. Clemenceau came to M. Pichon's room in order to resume work with the delegates to the conference.

On motion by the American delegates it was decided to organize a central commission for territorial questions.

Afterward the Zionist case was presented by Dr. Weizmann and M. Solow, representing the Zionist organization; Professor Sylvain Levi, of the College of France and a member of the Palestine committee; Mr. Andre Spire, representing the French Zionist organization, and Mr. Szsyahkin, representing the Jews of Russia.

March 1.—The representatives of the allied and associated governments met at the Quai d'Orsay today at 3 p. m.

Marshal Foch submitted the report of the military representatives on the supreme war council regarding the military conditions to be imposed on the enemy.

Signor Crespi, in the name of the financial drafting committee, submitted the list of questions requiring solution, which were referred to the financial commission.

M. Clementel, on behalf of the economic drafting committee, explained the economic questions requiring solution in the peace treaty, which were referred to the economic commission.

March 3.—The supreme war council, after its meeting, issued an announcement as follows:

The supreme war council met today from 3 to 5 o'clock p. m. They discussed the report of the military, naval and air experts on the disarmament of the enemy.

The following official statement was also issued:

The commission for the study of Roumanian territorial claims held its ninth session yesterday morning and its tenth session this morning under the chairmanship of M. Tardieu, and continued the examination of Roumanian and Serbian claims.

The commission on reparation of damage held a meeting at 10:30 o'clock this morning with Louis Klotz, the French finance minister, in the chair. The statement issued after this meeting read:

The commission, after having dealt with certain questions on procedure on the order of the day, decided that the subcommittees should make every effort to expedite their work in order that their reports might be submitted to the full commission with the least possible delay.

The subcommittee on the international régime of ports, waterways and railways met today. The text of the announcement of the meeting said:

The second subcommittee of the commission on the international régime of ports, waterways and railways met this morning at 10:30 o'clock at the ministry of public works.

Examination of the draft respecting ports subject to an international régime was continued. After an exchange of views the subcommittee arrived at a decision as to the conditions under which this régime is to be applied.

March 5.—The allied supreme council met. The chairman brought to the notice of the council various questions relative to plans for future sessions.

The question of the relief of Austria and Hungary was then discussed.

M. Cvoedenovitch, the Montenegrin Minister at Washington, then set forth in the name of King Nicholas the point of view of the royal government on the situation in and future of Montenegro.

March 7.—The supreme Council met at 3 p. m. Information was given as to the interruption of the negotiations at Spa regarding the surrender of the German merchant fleet and Mr. Lansing submitted a proposal in regard to the German cables.

At the request of the Italian delegates it was decided to appoint an interallied military commission to inquire into the incidents at Laibach.

The discussion of revictualing the States formerly included in Austria-Hungary was continued and completed.

Mr. Lloyd George addressed the council in regard to the military terms of preliminaries of peace with Germany.

The commission on the frontiers of enemy States met at the Quai d'Orsay at 6 o'clock. M. Tardieu was designated as president and Marquis Salvago-Raggi (Italy) as vice-president.

Questions of precedence were discussed and communications to the president of the preliminary peace conference and to the presidents of the civil commissions on territorial problems were prepared.

March 10.—The supreme council met at the Quai d'Orsay from 3 to 5:30 o'clock. The council decided that the Great Powers should designate the representatives of the powers with special interests on the economic and financial commissions.

The council then turned to the report of the military experts, presented by Marshal Foch, relative to the definite military status of Germany. The terms of this report were fixed, and its conclusions adopted.

The committee on the international régime of ports, waterways and railways met this morning in plenary session. It continued the discussion of the clauses to be inserted in the treaty of peace and began the examination of the control of navigation on the Rhine.

March 11.—The supreme council considered communications from the armistice commission regarding the situation in Poland. At the request of the Czecho-Slovak republic concerning German-Austrian and Hungarian intrigues against the new State, the council considered the reports and decided to investigate them as soon as documentary evidence is received.

The council then discussed the conditions under which the powers with special interests and the States in process of formation should participate in the discussions with the great powers respecting their frontiers.

March 13.—The twenty-first and twenty-second meetings of the commission on international labor legislation took place under the presidency of Samuel Gompers. The third reading of the British draft convention was completed, with the exception of two articles on which a final decision was deferred until Monday.

The commission proceeded to discuss the arrangements for the first meeting of the international labor conference in October and decided to recommend to the Peace Conference that it should be held in Washington if the government of the United States would consent to convene it. The necessary preparations will be placed in the hands of an international committee.

The commission on the international régime of ports, waterways and railways met in plenary session. The commission continued the discussion of provisions relative to the international régime of Rhine navigation, to be inserted in the preliminaries of peace.

March 17.—The supreme war council met from 3 to 7:30 p. m. and discussed the military, naval and aerial terms to be imposed on Germany. At the close of the meeting an exchange of views took place on the situation in Poland, as described by the interallied commission.

The commission on the international régime of ports, waterways and railways met at 3 o'clock at the ministry of public works. The commission was addressed by delegates from Switzerland, who had asked to be heard in order to lay before the commission the views of the Swiss government on the question of the navigation of the Rhine. The delegates, namely, M. Vallognon, M. Golpe and M. Collett, were presented by the Swiss Minister, M. Dunoup, who set forth the legal and technical reasons which led Switzerland to claim participation in any convention which may in the future govern navigation on the Rhine.

After the Swiss delegates had left, the commission completed the text of the clauses to be inserted in the treaty

of peace in regard to the Rhine and resumed discussion of the clauses regarding international transport by railway.

March 18.—The commission on international labor legislation held its twenty-seventh meeting this morning, under the presidency of Samuel Gompers. The meeting was devoted exclusively to hearing the statements put forward by the representatives of women's organizations of the allied countries.

March 19.—The supreme allied council met between 3 and 7 o'clock. An exchange of views took place in regard to the military situation in Galicia. The council agreed on the terms of an injunction to be addressed to the two armies facing each other in front of Lemberg, requesting them to suspend hostilities at once, on certain conditions.

The council then dealt with the western frontier of Poland and heard the report of the commission on Polish affairs, which was presented by its chairman, M. Jules Cambon.

The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth meeting of the committee on international labor legislation took place today under the presidency of Mr. Gompers. The special subcommittee appointed to find a solution for the difficulties which have arisen in regard to the application of labor conventions by certain Federal States presented a report suggesting a solution, which was adopted by the commission.

The final reading of the British draft convention for the establishment of a permanent organization for international labor legislation was completed, and the draft convention as amended was adopted by the commission for submission to the Peace Conference.

The commission then continued the discussion of the labor clauses to be recommended for inclusion in the treaty of peace.

March 20.—Representatives of neutral States were received informally this afternoon by a small committee of the League of Nations Commission. A draft of the covenant, as read at the plenary session held February 14, was the basis of discussion and delegates from neutral countries proposed amendments after the first fifteen articles had been read.

Thirteen neutral Powers were represented by ambassadors, ministers, and delegates with their retinues of military and civilian attachés: The nations directly represented were Norway, Persia, Salvador, Switzerland, Argentina, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. Spain was represented by her Under-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Persia by her Foreign Minister, and the South American republics by their resident ministers. At the close of the session it was announced that no serious differences or disagreements had developed. Among the amendments to the Covenant suggested at the meeting were several which urged an increase in the number of secondary countries admitted to the executive control of the League; the reduction of armaments, and the control of munition manufacturers.

March 21.—At the meeting of the League of Nations Commission Committee in the afternoon the neutral representatives gave their further views on the draft covenant, of which the remaining articles were examined.

Lord Robert Cecil thanked them for their assistance in the labors of elaborating the projects of the League of Nations which was of much use to the commission. The Peace Conference, he declared, hoped that all the States there represented would become original members of the League.

March 22.—The commission on the League of Nations met in the afternoon under the chairmanship of President Wilson. This was the first meeting of the commission since the draft of the covenant was presented to the plenary session of the Conference on February 14.

A discussion took place on a number of amendments suggested by the members of the commission as a result either of the recent exchange of views with the representatives

of neutral States or of the constructive criticism to which the covenant has been generally submitted.

The commission on the international régime of ports, waterways and railways met at 3 o'clock at the ministry of public works and examined clauses to be inserted in the treaty of peace in regard to the régime to be applied in the Danube.

Announcement was made by the Peace Conference commission on international labor legislation that the only thing remaining for the commission to do is to draw up its final report to the Peace Conference. At its session today the commission completed consideration of the proposals laid before it by a deputation from women's organizations.

In recognition of the principle of self-determination in labor questions, the labor commission today introduced a clause into its report providing that "no recommendation or draft convention shall in any case be accepted or applied so as to diminish the protection already accorded to workers by the existing laws of any of the high contracting parties."

The intention of the clause is to safeguard legislation already in effect in any country which might be regarded by that country as better for the workers than that recommended by the labor bureau. The report was largely a discussion of the seamen's act in the United States and recognition of the possibility that the bureau might make recommendations on that subject which, while improving the condition of seamen generally, would not measure up to the standard fixed by the United States.

The labor commission has definitely decided that the finding of the bureau must be supported by moral suasion in countries where special problems exist, rather than by invoking any force the League of Nations might offer.

**March 24.**—The supreme war council met from 4 till 6 o'clock. The question of submarine cables captured from the enemy was examined. The future status of those cables was decided on and the terms of reference regarding that status were referred to the drafting committee.

The American proposals concerning the powers of the Teschen commission were adopted.

The twelfth meeting of the League of Nations Commission, which was the second meeting held to consider amendments to the draft of the covenant, took place at the Hotel Crillon at 8.30 p. m. Amendments to the articles from IX to XVI of the covenant were considered, so that two-thirds of the draft has been examined.

**March 26.**—The fourth subcommittee of the financial commission met in the morning, with M. Klotz presiding. It has agreed unanimously upon the text of a report on the financial section of the League of Nations which will be submitted to the peace conference.

The thirteenth meeting of the League of Nations Commission was held at the Hotel de Crillon at 8:30 p. m. under the chairmanship of President Wilson. The chairman nominated Signor Orlando Baron Makino, Gen. Smuts and Col. House as members of a committee to consider the question of the locality of the seat of the league.

The commission then concluded its examination of the amendments proposed to the draft covenant. Lord Robert Cecil, M. Larnaudie, M. Venizelos and Col. House were nominated by the chairman as a committee on revision to consider the questions of the next meeting as soon as the committee on revision was ready to report.

**March 27.**—President Wilson issued the following statement:

"In view of the very surprising impression which seems to exist in some quarters, that it is the discussions of the commission on the League of Nations that are delaying the final formulation of peace, I am very glad to take the opportunity of reporting that the conclusions of this commission were the first to be laid before the plenary conference.

"They were reported on February 14, and the world has

had a full month in which to discuss every feature of the draft covenant then submitted.

"During the last few days the commission has been engaged in an effort to take advantage of the criticisms which the publication of the covenant has fortunately drawn out. A committee of the commission has also had the advantage of a conference with representatives of the neutral States, who are evidencing a very deep interest and a practically unanimous desire to align themselves with the league.

"The revised covenant is now practically finished. It is in the hands of a committee for the final process of drafting, and will almost immediately be presented a second time to the public.

"The conferences of the commission have invariably been held at times when they could not interfere with the consultation of those who have undertaken to formulate the general conclusions of the conference with regard to the many other complicated problems of peace, so that the members of the commissions congratulate themselves on the fact that no part of their conferences has ever interposed any form of delay."

**March 28.**—A meeting at which Mr. Lansing, Mr. Balfour, M. Pichon, Baron Sonnino and Baron Makino were present took place at 11 a. m.

In regard to the blockade of German Austria, it was agreed that all restrictions on commerce should be raised in that region as soon as the necessary machinery had been established in order to prevent re-export to Germany.

A commission was appointed to study the removal of servitude of Morocco established by the act of Algeciras.

The council then considered the question of the frontiers of Schleswig.

**March 29.**—The Commission on Responsibility for the War held its last meeting this morning. Its general report has been transmitted to the conference under whose control it will henceforward be.

Sir Ernest Pollock, the British Solicitor-General, expressed the thanks of the commission to Secretary Lansing for the excellent and liberal spirit in which he had presided over the discussions.

**April 1.**—A meeting at which Mr. Lansing, Mr. Balfour, M. Pichon, Baron Sonnino, and Baron Makino were present was held at the Quai d'Orsay from 3 to 5:30 o'clock.

The conclusions of the commission on Czecho-Slovak affairs were examined.

**April 4.**—In conformity with the decision of the Allied and associated Governments, the right given the Allies by the Armistice Convention signed November 11, to land the Polish troops now in France at Danzig has been completely maintained.

Furthermore, to hasten the arrival of these troops in Poland it has been decided to make use of other lines of transport proposed by the German Government.

These arrangements as a whole are in entire agreement with the views of the Allied and associated Governments.

Foch.

**April 11.**—"At a meeting of the League of Nations Commission, the Japanese delegation proposed an amendment to the preamble of the covenant, as follows: To insert after the words 'by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations,' an additional clause to read: 'By the indorsement of the principle of equality of nations and just treatment of their nationals.'

"The amendment was admirably presented by Baron Makino. In the course of his speech he emphasized the great desire of the Japanese Government and of the Japanese people that such a principle be recognized in the covenant. His argument was supported with great force by Viscount Chinda.

"A discussion followed, in which practically all of the members of the commission participated. The decision was

marked by breadth of thought, free and sympathetic exchange of opinion and a complete appreciation by the members of the commission of the difficulties which lay in the way of either accepting or rejecting the amendment.

"The commission was impressed by the justice of the Japanese claim and by the spirit in which it was presented. Mention was frequently made in the course of the discussion of the fact that the covenant provided for the representation of Japan on the Executive Council as one of the five great powers, and that a rejection of the proposed amendment could not, therefore, be construed as diminishing the prestige of Japan.

"Various members of the commission, however, felt that they could not vote for its specific inclusion in the covenant. Therefore the commission was reluctantly unable to give to the amendment that unanimous approval which is necessary for its adoption."

"The fifteenth meeting of the Commission on the League of Nations was held at the Hotel de Crillon under the chairmanship of President Wilson.

"The Commission resumed its examination of the articles of the covenant as redrafted by the committee on revision. Articles 11 to 26 were covered in the course of the evening and the Commission rose at 12:30, having completed its work. The appointment of a committee which should draw up plans of the league organization was authorized.

"The new text contains 26 articles. The entire document has been carefully revised from the point of view of drafting, and it contains, in addition, its specific statement of a number of principles heretofore regarded by the Commission as implicit as the covenant.

"Except for the technical task of bringing the French and English texts into accord, the covenant is ready for the plenary conference. It will therefore be made public in the course of a few days."

President Wilson presided at last night's session of the League of Nations Commission. The Commission received a deputation from the International Council of Women Suffragists of the Allied Countries and the United States. Lady Aberdeen introduced a deputation, who raised several points of interest to women, and before leaving they were thanked by the chairman, who assured them the commission appreciated the merits of the suggestions. If all of them were not embodied in the covenant of the league, they were told, it was because it was deemed inadvisable to burden the league with a multitude of details before experience had shown of what it was capable.

The commission discussed the redraft of the covenant received from the drafting committee, and covered the articles from one to ten. There will be discussion of the subsequent articles tonight.

April 14.—President Wilson tonight gave out the following statement:

"In view of the fact that the questions which must be settled in the peace with Germany have been brought so near to complete solution that they can now be quickly put through the final process of drafting, those who have been most constantly in conference about them have decided to advise the German plenipotentiaries be invited to meet the representatives of the associated belligerent nations at Versailles on April 25.

"This does not mean that the many other questions connected with the general peace settlement will be interrupted or that their consideration, which has long been under way, will be retarded.

"On the contrary it is expected that rapid progress will now be made with those questions, so that they may also presently be expected to be ready for final settlement.

"It is hoped that the questions mostly directly affecting Italy, especially the Adriatic questions, can now be brought to a speedy agreement.

"The Adriatic agreement will be given for the time precedence over other questions and pressed by continual study to its final stage.

"The settlements that belong especially to the treaty with Germany will in this way be got out of the way at the same time that all other settlements are being brought to a complete formulation.

"It is realized that though this process must be followed, all the questions of the present great settlement are parts of a single whole."

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

**Church and State in formal alliance** are to be less powerful throughout the world as a result of the war and of the revolutionary, reconstruction policies now being backed by the masses of the people. The severity and extremity of the measures which the forces now dominating Russia have employed in divorcing the two institutions may breed a partial reaction in the course of time; but it is not conceivable that anything like a pre-war status will be established. The fissions in the former German and Austro-Hungarian empires have given the secular forces an opportunity to shake off the coalitions that hitherto have existed and to alter the status of the established churches and to challenge the domination of education by ecclesiastics; and the phenomena of revolt in this field are to be found in Roman Catholic Bavaria and Austria as well as in Protestant Prussia. Precisely what will happen in Belgium, France and Italy is not yet clear, but the outlook is not serene for the Papacy's perpetuation of its former authority, an outcome in part due to the studied formal neutrality of the Vatican at a time when from the nationalistic standpoint at least open championship of the Entente cause seemed imperative. With the world in a mood for wide extension of the principle of freedom of conscience and liberty of action and democratization of status in this important area of human activity and organization, it is not surprising that the Paris Conference should have had coming up to it from many quarters a demand that the organic law of the Society of Nations incorporate the principle of equality of religions. Strong pressure from the Jews of the world naturally has been brought to bear in support of this policy, since both prior to the armistice and since, there have been terrible massacres of their co-religionists in Eastern Europe. Protestantism in America also is letting its voice be heard at Paris, as the following resolution forwarded to Paris shows:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and its Constituent bodies and other denominations, urge upon the American representatives at the Allied Peace Conference the importance of a guarantee of religious liberty in all countries directly or indirectly affected by the decisions of that Conference, believing that such guarantee is a fundamental feature in the program of vital democracy and essential to the peace of the world.

The great federation of the Protestant Missionary societies of the world also has asked the Paris Commissioners to so modify Article XIX of the covenant and constitution of the League of Nations, that nations given mandatory rights as trustees of peoples and territories formerly subject to Germany and Turkey, whether in Asia Minor, Africa, or the Pacific Ocean, be pledged to certain guarantees, namely: